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more spiritualized material, and they have greater powers and are capable of both visible and invisible locomotion. But it is always the true spirit within and underlying any given manifestation which is the true divinity. Thus the gods can even go out and kill one another, as men can, in the sense of driving one another out of their present bodies. But of course these gods—spirits—can immediately take on other forms. 776

Deceased friends and ancestors are supposed to be present at times among the people they have left behind. Though unseen, they are able to render material assistance to the living, or to afflict them if they think they deserve it. Sometimes they appear to men in dreams, either to warn or encourage them. It is also believed that gods, demons and men sometimes appear to the living in the assumed forms of birds, fishes, bears and other animals, to deliver messages. When their purpose has been accomplished, these return immediately to their proper, natural form. 775

As regards dreams, I have seen people go almost mad on account of them, and on such occasions they need a great deal of kind sympathy. A very short time ago, our whole household was terribly upset because one of our servants who had died some time before appeared, so they said, as a ghost and walked about the house. It took quite a long time to quiet them and bring them round to normal. He had broken a pane of glass and got in. And indeed the broken pane was shown me as evidence! Undoubtedly they saved themselves a scolding thereby. 828 ● 775

By keeping such fundamentals as these in mind when perusing this book, the reader will be helped greatly to a right understanding. Among much dross in this old-world ore, a quantity of good stuff may be found and many grains of pure gold and brilliant gems of psychic truth picked up by the thoughtful. The whole world is undoubtedly akin and among all races 114

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land and as full of light as our world is." And then he added, "The thunder demon once came to Ainu-land and waged a most grievous war here. So disastrous was it that this earth could not sustain it. He therefore ascended to Heaven and carried on the conflict there. The Creator was so worried at this that He made him descend into the lowest depths of the earth to wage his battles. Here he was slain. But as it is impossible for any god or demon really to die, his living spirit went up to the lower skies to dwell. His home is there now." The chief finished his discourse by giving me another myth.

"The world in which we live is called by two names, 'The upper world' and 'The world where people trample one another.' It is also sometimes called 'The world for propagating one another.' It is named 'Upper world' because there is another world just beneath it. That world is very damp, and when wicked people go there after death they are punished. By the side of this place there is another locality which is called 'The land of the gods.' It is to this place the good go at death. They are there with the gods and walk about upside down after the manner of flies so that their feet are opposite to ours. When it is day upon our earth it is night in heaven. When it is daylight there it is dark here. Now, when it is dark in this world of ours, men should neither do any work nor trim one another's hair nor cut their beards, for at that time the gods and the spirits of our forefathers are busy in their own spheres. If, therefore, the inhabitants of our world work during the hours of darkness, they will be punished with sickness and meet with death early."

I conclude this chapter with a dream. A chief came to me from another village one day and told me about a dream he had had the night before and which was troubling him. It was this, he said:

"A certain chief, who died some time ago, appeared to me and said, 'Pay great attention. I am Chief

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So-and-So and now have my home in Hades. Upon my departure from your midst, I went directly to the underground world where I am now undergoing punishment. But the punishment I suffer is not for anything I did myself, but because the people under my care were so wicked when I had the rule over them. I ought to have kept them in better order. Let all repent at once of their evil deeds, lest they also are punished when they join me.'"

This man and I had a good long talk together and he told me the dream because he wanted my advice and help. At last he said, "When a man has had a bad dream, he should call the village elders together, tell them about it, get them to make fetishes, and then pray that the evil indicated in the dream may pass away." The poor fellow did me the honour of coming to me privately to consult me first. And I think he went away in a happier frame of mind.

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ed doctrine of there being six worlds beneath us. Beyond mentioning the fact that six is the Ainu 'perfect number,' I cannot tell how the people reconcile the two, for I have never yet heard it satisfactorily explained, though explanation there probably is somewhere, could one but find it. The legend is as follows:—

"The place in which we men dwell is called by three names. First, the most common is *Kanna Moshiri*, i.e. 'The upper world'; and then *Uare Moshiri*, i.e. 'The world in which to multiply; and lastly, *Uwekari Uotereke Moshiri*, i.e. 'The world in which the multitudes trample one another's feet.' It is the upper world because there is another world under foot. This is a very damp place and when the wicked die they go there to be punished. But by the side of this place there is another locality which is *Kamui Moshiri*, i.e. 'The Land of the Gods.' It is to this place that good people go at death. They live there with the deities and walk about upside down, after the manner of flies, so that their feet meet ours.

"When it is day upon this earth, it is night in heaven, and when it is daylight there, it is dark here. Now, when it is dark in this world, men should neither do any work, trim one another's hair, nor cut their beards, for at such times the deities and souls of men are busy in their own spheres. If, therefore, the inhabitants of this our upper world work during the hours of darkness, they will be punished with sickness and meet with an early death." The Ainu religion is in this respect a truly daylight-saving scheme.

This myth shows very clearly that the Ainu believe the soul to exist apart from the present material body after death. It goes to Hades, in which place both heaven and Gehenna are situated.

A man once told me of a dream in which the soul of a deceased chief appeared to him and said,

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"Listen to me. I am chief so-and-so and I now reside in Hades. Upon my departure from your midst, I went to the underground world and there I am now undergoing punishment. But, alas, the punishment is not for anything I did myself, but because the people under my charge were so wicked when I had the rule over them. I ought to have kept them in better order. Let all at once repent of their evil deeds, lest they, too, be punished when they join me."

While walking under some very large trees one day, there came a mighty clap of thunder accompanied by a very bright flash of lightning and a sudden crash. It was all so sudden and the noise was so great that I was stupefied for the moment. I felt a puff as of a cool wind or electric current fall upon my cheek, and even saw my coat go to one side as the breath passed by. The flash left a smell like burning brimstone in the air around. When I came to myself, I looked about me and saw that a big tree close by had been struck, so that a branch was much splintered and the trunk riven through. I must surely have been unconscious for a time. Chief Penri believed that this was an attack by an evil genius of thunder and lightning. He told me that these demons lived in the clouds above and were so bad at times that they sent metal-like balls into the earth. They fell with such mighty force that they went right down to the lowest world. He also added "As the demons of the air are so near this earth of ours, it is possible for them to pay us frequent visits, and even to dwell among us. This is in part why there is so much evil in the world." The names of some of them are very long, such as these, "He who passes through the highest skies," and his wife;" He who comes down from the stars," and his wife, with others. All these things point, it will be observed, to naturism and general animism. The people used to be very much afraid of thunderstorms. When one was

FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS

771 *inau* is called *nusa*, a word which will occur frequently in this
192 work.

Ramat (literally, heart) is a word that cannot be translated, and
771 stands for a concept not easy to describe. The nearest English
774 equivalents are soul or spirit. I will quote the explanations given
192 me by some of my informants, all learned elders (*ekashi*). Kotan-Pira said *ramat* was the backbone of Ainu religion. Rennuikesh, eighty years old, very active and intelligent, who came from the north of Hokkaido, said: 'Whatever has no *ramat* has nothing'. Nisukrek and other elders agreed with this: '*Ramat* is all-pervading and indestructible'. Uesanash said: '*Ramat* is everywhere'. It varies vastly in amount and concentration; for example, as one elder put it, *ramat* in the seed of a plant is not like that in a man. It is liable to shift from one place to another but is never diminished throughout all changes of position. I find no better all-round description than in the lines of Wordsworth:

> A motion and a spirit that impels
> All thinking things, all objects of all thought,
> And rolls through all things.

When objects are burnt or broken, *ramat* vacates them. When living things—men, animals, trees or plants—die, *ramat* leaves them and goes elsewhere, but does not perish. On this account weapons and utensils buried with the dead are often broken so that their *ramat* may accompany the deceased.

Ainu religion in general perspective presents every phase of animistic belief. Pervasion of everything by *ramat* provides reason
[778] for faith in amulets. The skulls of certain animals stuffed with sacred curled shavings (*inau-kike*) serve to retain concentrated *ramat*.

Of similar meaning to *ramat* is *inotu*, translated by Batchelor as 'life'. This word is known to few elders, but is often met with in the ancient songs known in the Hokkaido as *yukara*. Like *ramat*, this word, as used in the songs, implies life extended to inanimate things which, being broken, also 'die'. It was more often applied, however, to persons. None of my informants has identified life or spirit with breath, nor have they the conviction that there is a connection between the life of a person and his shadow. They
[828] recognize, of course, that arrest of breathing is proof of death, but maintain that when a person is asleep, in a faint, or unconscious from any cause, *ramat* leaves the body and may not return. In

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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such a state a person, though breathing, is said to be *ramat sak* (without soul).

The Ainu speak of evil spirits as casting no shadow, but the reason is that they are themselves supposed to be shades of gloom. I have not met anyone who believes that a person's shadow betokens *ramat*.

We now come to the *kamui*, under which term are included not only the deities of the Ainu pantheon but numerous independent spirits of lesser degree. The term may also be applied to anything remarkable, incomprehensible or even exceptionally beautiful, as we might speak of 'divine beauty'. In its context the word can usually be understood without difficulty. Like human beings, *kamui* are loosely classified as good or beautiful (*pirika*), bad or hostile (*wen*), and mischievous but not always malevolent (*koshne*). There are also spirits which may be called insouciant *kamui*, neither good nor bad in themselves, which if properly treated may help the good *kamui* in their task of repelling or expelling the 'evil spirits' (as I shall translate *wen kamui*) which seek to harm the Ainu.

Apart from these evil spirits, it is a fixed belief that indifferent or even good *kamui* may take umbrage at inconsiderate treatment. The Ainu estimate the powers of the *kamui*, whether good or evil, largely by their own standards, but most elders are agreed that the thoughts of the *kamui* are not quite the same as human thoughts. As my informant, the aged Rennuikesh Ekashi, observed: 'They have thoughts to themselves' (*yaikoshiram*). Formerly every care was taken not to hurt the feelings of good *kamui*. Deep reverence was paid to most of them and provocation was guarded against by strict taboos. Even the deadly *kamui* of pestilence, and especially of smallpox, against which the good *kamui*, even when assisted by magico-religious rites, were unable to operate successfully, were usually treated with respect; to speak of them as evil spirits was to evoke more wrath and frightfulness. These spirits were also known as punishing (*pakoro*) *kamui*, and in most places no attempt was made to resist their attacks. They were merely pleaded with and placatory offerings were made to them. Evil *kamui* could as a rule be restrained by the good ones, backed by magical rites, but even so, inducements to quit sometimes were, and still are, held out to them. Certainly in the case of good *kamui* the rule was to treat them with reverence tinged with awe (*oripak*).

DEATH AND BURIAL

774 There is a distinction between *ramat*, which as we have seen is
775 spirit or spirit power, and *tukap*, ghost; at least, most of the elders of my acquaintance deny that they are the same. *Tukap* (literally 'double-skin') is an appearance which may be caused by the *ramat*[1] of the person concerned, but is usually put down to *turenbe*, the two kinds of influence, good and bad, responsible for human behaviour. The good influence accompanies the personal *ramat* to the place of the ancestors, so that the ghost nearly always comes from the bad influence. A ghost is very rarely seen by anyone when awake, but may appear in a dream either to convey a message from a departed spirit or to bring some intimation from Kamui Fuchi or another important *kamui*. The *ramat* of the sleeper may then go forth and undergo strange experiences. When it returns the sleeper
● [828] wakes; if it fails to return he dies. It is therefore dangerous to arouse a sleeper suddenly; he dies if his soul is not at hand.

775 When an Ainu was killed by another or committed suicide, his
674 soul was supposed to harbour a grievance, and this might be mani-
762 fested in the appearance of a ghost, in a 'bad dream', or more often
828 in spirit possession (*rai kamui shikare*). Paralysis and rheumatism
787 were generally attributed to a cantankerous dead person. Smallpox,
753 the most dreaded of plagues, though chiefly inflicted by Pakoro Kamui, was, as we have seen, also thought to be due to the action of lost souls, tragically compelled to accompany the spirit which had destroyed their bodies.

776 On the other hand evil spirits might attach themselves to the dead body, to its soul, or to the evil influence, and work mischief.
775 A sign said to be specially ominous is the erection of the penis
[826] after death. In the case of a young man who was found drowned
[966] the condition is said to have persisted for two days after death.
[783] In such a case the body was purified, and the trusty *shutu inau kamui*, made of elder, requisitioned to ward off further attacks.
766 Formerly the body of an Ainu dying by accident was buried near the place where it was found. A tent of matting was made on the spot, but the funeral service was performed in the house.

000 The following is a description of funeral customs and rites

[1] According to some Ainu, human souls become either *ramat* or *tukap*. The soul of a good-tempered man becomes *ramat* and goes to the other world, while that of an ill-tempered man becomes a *tukap* and haunts this world, harming the living. According to another opinion, however, these supernatural beings are to be distinguished from human souls (Chiri, *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*, Vol. 3, p. 686).—H.W.